

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5232

S E C R E T NAIROBI 0346

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY AND SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA, AND CAPE
TOWN FOR AMBASSADORS ONLY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, KE

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: RICHARD SEEKS EXPLANATION OF LUSAKA DECISIONS;
PLANS MAY CHANGE

1. SUMMARY: RICHARD AND PARTY LEFT FOR LUSAKA EARLIER
THAN EXPECTED TO SEE NKOMO AND MUGABE THIS MORNING AND
KAUNDA THIS AFTERNOON. HE IS CONCERNED THAT FRONTLINE
STATES' ENDORSEMENT OF PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL MAKE HIS
MISSION AND PLANS FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE VERY
MUCH MORE DIFFICULT, AND HE MAY RETURN TO LONDON TO RE-
CONSIDER STRATEGY WITH THE FCO, DEPENDING UPON OUTCOME
OF TALKS IN LUSAKA. END SUMMARY.

2. I LEARNED FROM BRITISH HICOM OFFICERS NAIROBI THIS MORNING
THAT MY WILD GOOSE HAD FLOWN SOUTH TO LUSAKA AT 0900, HAVING
GONE STRAIGHT TO THE AIRPORT FROM THE GAME VIEWING
LODGE WHERE HE STAYED SUNDAY NIGHT. I TALKED TO MANS-
FIELD BY PHONE SUNDAY MORNING WHO SAID THEY PLANNED
RETURN TO HICOM OFFICES ABOUT 1100 TODAY AND PROMISED
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TELEPHONE ME SO I COULD COME SEE IVOR RICHARD AS
SOON AS THEY RETURNED. AS EXPLAINED BY HICOM FIRST
SECRETARIES DAWSON AND CRABBIE WHEN I WENT TO HICOM
OFFICES AT 1130, RICHARD GOT WORD LAST NIGHT THAT
HE COULD SEE NKOMO AND MUGABE AT 1100 IN LUSAKA IF
HE COULD GET THERE BY THEN, AS MUGABE WAS RETURNING
TO MAPUTO AND NKOMO SOMEWHERE ELSE (MAYBE WEST AFRICA

AGAIN), AND THAT HE COULD ALSO SEE KAUNDA THIS AFTER-
NOON.

3. DAWSON, WHO WAS WITH RICHARD'S PARTY AT THE GAME LODGE, SAID RICHARD ALSO GOT WORD LAST NIGHT OF THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS SEEMINGLY EXCLUSIVE ENDORSEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS SPELLED OUT IN THE LUSAKA COMMUNIQUE AND SUBSEQUENT COMMENTS BY PRESIDENT NYERERE (LUSAKA 53 AND 54). AFTER MUCH DEBATE, THE PARTY FINALLY DECIDED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO FIND OUT EXACTLY WHAT IT MEANT WAS TO GO AND ASK KAUNDA AND POSSIBLY NYERERE. ACCORDINGLY AFTER SEEING KAUNDA, RICHARD MAY FLY TO DAR ES SALAAM TO SEE NYERERE TONIGHT OR TOMORROW (TUESDAY) MORNING, THE LATTER BEING MORE LIKELY. DAWSON SAID RICHARD WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE LUSAKA COMMUNIQUE FOR HIS MISSION AND FOR RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA TALKS, ESPECIALLY IF THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS NOW SEEK TO EXCLUDE THE MUZEREWA AND SITHOLE DELEGATIONS COMPLETELY. RICHARD WILL DECIDE WHAT TO DO NEXT WHEN HE IS IN LUSAKA, AND DEPENDING ON THE OUTCOME OF HIS TALKS THERE, MIGHT EVEN DECIDE TO RETURN DIRECT TO LONDON FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH FCO AND THE CABINET ON FUTURE STRATEGY. ON THE OTHER HAND HE MAY TRY TO SEE NYERERE AND RETURN TO NAIROBI BY EARLY AFTERNOON TOMORROW. DAWSON SEEMED TO THINK IT UNLIKELY THAT HE WOULD GO ON TO SOUTH AFRICA AS ORIGINALLY CONTEMPLATED. HOWEVER, BRITISH WILL CABLE RICHARD IN LUSAKA TO FIND OUT FOR ME WHAT HIS PLANS ARE BY THIS EVENING.

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4. I ASKED WHETHER OR WHEN RICHARD PLANS TO ANNOUNCE HIS DECISION TO EXTEND THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, BUT DAWSON SAID RICHARD HAS NOT DECIDED YET. I SAID I WOULD LIKE TO INFORM WASHINGTON IF POSSIBLE BEFORE RICHARD ANNOUNCES IT AT SOME PRESS CONFERENCE.

5. CRABBIE WHO ACCOMPANIED RICHARD FOR HIS CALL ON KENYA FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI, SAID RICHARD OUTLINED THE BRITISH PROPOSALS FAIRLY COMPLETELY TO WAIYAKI, CHARACTERIZING THEM AS TENTATIVE IDEAS ONLY. WAIYAKI EXPRESSED GENERAL INTEREST BUT SOON DIRECTED THE CONVERSATION ON TO THE MORE PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSION OF WHAT WOULD EVENTUALLY HAPPEN IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE DID NOT ASK A LOT OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FOR RHODESIA, THOUGH HE DID EXHIBIT INTEREST IN THE CONTROL OF BOTH ZIPA AND THE RHODESIAN ARMY, SUGGESTING THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMONWEALTH FORCE

MIGHT BE CONSIDERED TO KEEP BOTH UNDER CONTROL.

6. COMMENT: IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TELL FROM HERE HOW SERIOUSLY THE FRONTLINE STATES INTEND TO PURSUE THEIR IMPLIED EXCLUSION OF SITHOLE AND MUSERWEA. IF THEIR TALK OF SUPPORT FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS MOSTLY RHETORIC DESIGNED TO EXTOL UNITY WITHOUT IN FACT EXCLUDING THE OTHER TWO DELEGATIONS, RICHARD'S MISSION COULD PRESUMABLY CONTINUE. IF IT IS MORE THAN RHETORIC, HOWEVER, IT WOULD IMMEDIATELY FRUSTRATE THE BRITISH SCHEME FOR APPOINTING MOST OF THE PROPOSED COUNCIL OF MINISTERS FROM THE FIVE GENEVA DELEGATIONS, AND WOULD INTRODUCE PROBLEMS IN DETERMINING A NEW SELECTION PROCESS. MORE SERIOUSLY, PERHAPS, WILL BE THE EFFECT UPON SMITH AND VORSTER, AS A SHIFT TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD INCREASE THE RADICAL COLORATION OF THE PROPOSED AFRICAN REPRESENTATION. MOREOVER, THE EX-SECRET

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CLUSION OF SITHOLE AND MUSERWEA COULD CONCEIVABLY TEMPT EITHER OR BOTH OF THESE NATIONALISTS TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE OVERTURES FROM SMITH AND TEMPT SMITH TO MAKE SUCH OVERTURES IN AN EFFORT TO SET UP HIS "INTERNAL OPTION" RATHER THAN RETURN TO GENEVA. IF THERE IS ANY CHANCE OF RICHARD TALKING ANY OF THE PRESIDENTS OUT OF THEIR APPARENT EXCLUSION OF MUSERWEA AND SITHOLE, IT MIGHT BE BETTER FOR HIM TO TRY THAT WHILE THE MATTER IS STILL FRESH RATHER THAN TO RETURN TO LONDON.

7. NEXT STEPS. I STILL HOLD RESERVATIONS TO DAR ES SALAAM AND RETURN TOMORROW AND TO CAPE TOWN ON WEDNESDAY BUT WILL WAIT FOR MORE WORD ON RICHARD'S PLANS BEFORE MOVING, AS IT MAY TURN OUT TO BE MORE PRACTICAL TO WAIT AND SEE HIM HERE THAN TRY TO CATCH HIM BRIEFLY IN DAR.
MARSHALL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977NAIROB00346
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: FOR AMBASSADORS ONLY
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P850056-2612
Format: TEL
From: NAIROBI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770166/aaaacgec.tel
Line Count: 156
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: f3f2b6db-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3633008
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: RICHARD SEEKS EXPLANATION OF LUSAKA DECISIONS; PLANS MAY CHANGE
TAGS: PINT, PDEV, PFOR, KE, UK, RH, (RICHARD, IVOR)
To: STATE SS MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f3f2b6db-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009